231

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanâm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where there are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tūb miak - to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- ● [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okŏngŏn) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278 the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atūih), pre- 324] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

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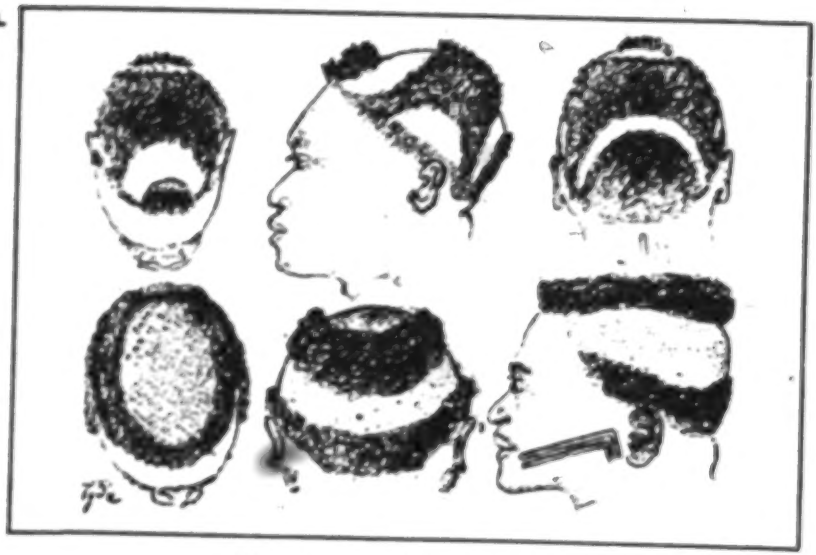

Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

291 During the first years of their lives, small children usually go around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh
● [304] year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circumcised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children, especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as they start to walk.

302 Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

291 177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miĕn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andu͡n) and of the herb called afuh. The latter two are worn only by women and [304] usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned [204] presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adzŏm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

301 of the Trachyphrynium violaceum (stalk, nkómkɔ́mo I; leaves,
304 dzɛ́dekiaí IV Ntum) onto the tip of the quill and pulls both back
together until the stalk comes to rest in the septum. The stalk
is supposed to keep the hole open for the later ornaments. The
subsequent treatment serves the same purpose; every two days
the wound is washed out and the stalk is renewed. /181/ After ten
days the stalk is finally removed and replaced by the permanent
301 ornaments. The objects used for ornaments can scarcely all be
enumerated: /Figs. 122 and 123 appear here in the original text/
stalks, leaves, blossoms of the Gomphrena globosa L. (ngɔ́n), with
which we are already familiar as an ornamental plant, feathers (1),

> 1. The red tail feathers of the gray parrot and the crescent feathers of the cock are especially popular; both animals play an important role in the religion.

paper rolls, wooden rods strung with beads, raffia rods, rods or bones wrapped with brass wire, brass rings with a large bead that hangs down as far as the upper lip (see Fig. 132), and especially strings of beads, the ends of which are tied to the hairdo behind the ears, thus forming a cheek ornament at the same time. /Fig. 124 appears here in the original text./

Forehead ornaments are to be found in the following forms: strings of beads; bands of beads, which in the southern part of the Fang region often have very attractice patterns (Fig. 122); strips of black sheepskin (tū́t IV); and sometimes among women nicely braided bast bands with tassels.

The neck, which one rarely sees without some kind of band or string, is amply provided with ornaments. In former times the fruit of the grass Coix lacryma L. (mvǎ ándǔ III), the well-known Job's-tears (Fig. 123), used as a decoration in so many parts of the world, /182/ /Figs. 125 and 126 appear here in the original text/ was very popular, as were strung stalk pieces of the fern Lygodium smithianum Presl. (ozɔ̌k), whose name ozɔ̌k was subsequently

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
322 (bendõ[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bā III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvō' IV Fang, mvē IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (nīǎk-esī, IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (nīě-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebā'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
415 the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vūok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfǐ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

302
304 ancient notions have of course been forgotten today, and the idea of decoration for the most part has completely overshadowed the religious background.

In the Pangwe region four kinds of actual body decoration are to be encountered. These are burned scars, decorative scars, painting, and tattooing. This sequence is also to be understood in a temporal sense, from the point of view of their historical development. I consider the burned scars to be of the greatest antiquity. We may presume that they first came about accidentally as a result of the use of fire; then, at a later date, they were produced intentionally through dabbing with red-hot coals. These burned scars were later replaced by "cut" scars, that is, by decorative scars produced with a knife, since the knife allowed a finer and more artistic tracing of the line. It may be that at this point younger people, out of fear of the pain, simulated the burned scars by drawing corresponding points or lines on their body with coals that had cooled off. In this way the painting of the body may have started, and this was then further developed with other and better materials. A link between the decorative scars and painting is provided by tattooing; in this process the wounds are rubbed with charred resin.

In my opinion, accordingly, all the varieties of body decoration derive from a common root, fire. In this connection a brief linguistic consideration may be of value. As I already indicated on page 8 /not translated/, kă is the original stem used to designate hostile motion to and fro, pain and danger, cold and heat (for the effect of both is the same), and consequently also fire whenever its effect is to be emphasized. Thus, for example, we have n-kă'-bă = the flame; e-kă'ba = what is needed for a flame, a torch; a kă'-d-an = to set fire with a red-hot coal (an); -k-ad? = red-hot charcoal (see Meinhof, Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen /Outline of a Phonology of the Bantu Languages/, page 160, not known to me in Pangwe); me-kă elĭ = the name of a tree which supplies charcoal, literally: "charcoal tree"; a kă'-ń = to draw with charcoal, to draw, to write, to brand, to paint (with black); e-kă'-ń = tattooing; n-kă'-ń = the one who has been drawn, the guinea hen (also sacred, Class I of prefixes; see the Mekang cult).

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndŭtŏ́lŏ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ mvăn̂ (plural) by the Ntum, endŏ́n by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsă̂ă̂ III Ntum, endŏ́n Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okŏn̂ e mvăn̂), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obĕ́ndĕ́m (1) or fĭ́na IV (2), as well as mfĭ́na; among

1. Derived from abĕ́, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndĕ́m, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yĭ́n, "dark, black"; e-yĭ́n-di mōt, "Black (man), Negro."

the Ntum it is called abe ndĕm or kūdemă'n IV.

The names fi na (mfi'na) and kūdemă'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

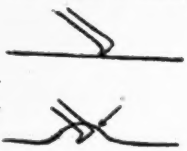

Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

304 Tattooing, which was introduced about 20 years ago, replaced body painting; from it tattooing derived its names, fi'na and kūdemăn, and among the Fang it also received the name for decorative scars, myăń. Among the Ntum, furthermore, it is called ekă'n (see above), and among the Jaunde,

Fig. 151. Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea.

otū (from otū, "resin," which is rubbed into the wounds and brings out the permanent pattern). According to the Fang, 304 tattooing came to them from the north between the early and 177 middle 1890's. Among the Bene, who probably acquired tattooing from the east, only younger people are tattooed. It follows from this that the art must have spread throughout the

304 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this
177 spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but espe-
832 cially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzám eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of
577 tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

304 577 upper thighs, a custom which was imported by the morally loose Jaunde. The people generally regard the custom as shameful, and they excuse it by saying: "After all they are only women; men would be ashamed to go around this way" (similarly, as among us, only women go around "décolleté").

364 Among the Pangwe the division of labor and specialization in all areas of artistic and intellectual endeavor are extreme, and this also appears in the art of tattooing which is mastered by perhaps only one in a hundred. The operation, which, incidentally, is quite unpleasant although not nearly as painful as the decorative scars, is performed in the meeting house without any kind of formalities. The "patient" sits or lies down during the process (Fig. 152). First of all, soot is made by burning some resin (otū), see page 42, and letting the smoke deposit the soot on a potsherd. The artist first traces the pattern on the body by /200/ /Fig. 152 appears here in the original text/ impressing the curved lines with a flexible, moist leaf of grass that has first been placed in ashes and the straight lines with a similarly treated raffia stick. The lines that project too far are carefully wiped away with a wet finger. For the "cobweb pattern" the artist makes use of a pistil of the hand-shaped leaf of the umbrella tree (Musanga), whose ribs are broken off one centimeter above the base after the removal of the leafy part. On the lines he has drawn, he uses his knife to make little diagonal incisions very close to one another, wipes away the blood that seeps out if it is in the way, and rubs the wounds with the resin soot, carefully pressing it in with his thumb or index finger. In other cases, the resin itself, after it has been rubbed to a powder, is put into the wounds, but in that case only resin from the Anonacea Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) V. Rich. (ojă,n). The surface of the tattooed part of the body is now /Figs. 153, 154, and 155 appear here in the original text/ washed to get rid of the blood and soot. Later, rubbing with resin is repeated once more. It sometimes happens that /201/ small swellings form on the wounds which diminish the beauty of the pattern; usually, however, the wounds heal smoothly in a very short period of time.

304 413 Two types of tattooing are distinguished. There is the widespread ekūt, and secondly there is the endōlɔ̄, the customary one

1: Tessmann--207 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
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Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

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Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

304 413 among the Fang. The first type is performed with a narrow knife with no handle (nsŏ̱n̰-bekū́t I), Figure 153, and, depending upon the depth of the parallel incisions, shows lines composed of clearly raised cuts or, less distinctly, uniformly dark lines. For endō̱lo tattooing, an ordinary razor (okō̱nngō̱n̰), see Figure 140, or a special scalpel-like knife (ökō̱n̰ e myā̱n̰), Figure 155, is used. Its patterns are characterized by the crisscrossing of its cuts; in later years, however, they can scarcely be distinguished from the bekū́t, especially since both pale with age.

304 465 Tattoo artists are usually not paid when members of their own kin group are concerned, but from strangers they frequently demand shamelessly high prices. Thus, the man represented in Figure 218, Drawing (c), was thoroughly swindled, as will be apparent from the figures given here in the footnote (1). At the

1. Tattooing of Mangame-Ssii, Fang from Ebiănemajong (Essauong family); see Figure 218, Drawing c.

	Marks
(a) Made by Meka-Mendongo (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
(b, c, d) Made by Akoa-Mbelewe (Jenkŏng) for two cutlasses	1.00
(e) Made by Mba-Efanga (Essauong) for five strings of beads	.50
(g, h) Made by Endongo (Essauong) for one ell of cloth	.75
(i, k) Made by Ndong-Efa (Jemwam) for three cutlasses	1.50
(f, l, m) Made by Ndong-Ntutum (Omwang) for three cutlasses	1.50
(n, o) Made by Meko-Mefanga (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
Decorative scars, made by Meba-Mendongo (Jibikon) for one hen	1.00

304 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing
465 mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members
825 of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[171]

2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[192]

1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asŭń "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (fə̂ III), and molars (ekŏ'k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

304 825 teeth in their upper jaw. A glance at the animal caricatures in our own comic papers shows how human, almost too human even, the front teeth of our cattle, for instance, appear to us. It 304 should be remembered that horned animals, tame (goats and 825 sheep) as well as wild (antelopes), play an important role in the 794 religion of the Pangwe since they are linked with the moon because of their horns. The cult of the moon, however, is the cult /Figs. 156 and 157 appear here in the original text/ of the Evil One. Accordingly, mutilation of the teeth is a symbol of turning

Fig. 156.
Mutilation of a Front Tooth.
The shaded part is chipped off.

Fig. 157
Chisel used on Front Teeth.

away from the Evil One, of destroying any similarity to him. On the other hand, it simultaneously points to an increased similarity to the Good, that is, the sun (or God [e-sǎ-mbe], who manifests himself in the sun), and the teeth are shaped to be like its rays. The deformation of teeth, therefore, is not to form a real "point," which to the contrary, would be something unpleasant and bad (the root sǒ is in n-sǒ-ń I, "point"). (It may be that this is the reason some people knock out all or some of their front teeth.) Rather, the deformation only narrows the teeth and gives them the shape illustrated in Figure 156. The teeth are, so to speak, "stretched" and made to resemble a sun beam; from this comes the expression a sǎ́-m-ǎn masǔ̀n from a sǎ-m, "to stretch" (n-sǎ́-m-ba, "the row, the line," actually, "ray"). The widely current expression "to shape the teeth to a point" is accurate only if one does not take it too literally; the cutting edge is merely narrowed, not brought to a point. The expression "filing the 304 teeth," which one also encounters frequently, is inaccurate since

●304 the teeth are splintered off and not filed. In Pangwe another expression, aside from a sǎ́man /203/ masŭ́ń, is a sǎ́-ń masŭ́ń, which is derived from a sǎ́-ń, "to carve, to chip, to adorn"; zǎ́-ń IV means "carving, carving patterns," from the root sa (1).

1. On the other hand, to put a point on a stick (as an example, etc. is a sŏ́no (Fang) and a sūṓne, a sūḗne (Ntum); the root is so!

The operation is performed in the following manner. The "patient" lies down on his back and bites firmly into a wooden roll with his front teeth. The artist places a small iron chisel (zǎ́ń e masŭ́ń IV, Fig. 157) on the tooth, takes a piece of wood for a hammer, and splinters off the edges in small pieces. The pain [178] of this operation is not inconsiderable, and for that reason the old custom is being abandoned here and there. This is a development which is speeding up under European influence. /204/

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Section 8

Craftsmanship and Tools

General observations.
First Part. Bark work. (a) Raw bark. Utilization: bark for house construction, decorative barks, bark containers (their production, significance of names), coffin. (b) Bark cloth. Beaters -- Types of trees supplying bark for cloth. -- Manufacture.
Second Part. (a) Thread and sewing. Fibers of the Recthophyllum, of the pineapple. (b) Ropes and knotting. Ropes made from pineapple and banana fibers, raffia fiber and its

3. Incised patterns.

(a) Decorative scars.

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/Fig. 214 appears here in the original text. /

The patterns of the decorative scars made by incision are not very numerous. There are only about a dozen of them. They constantly recur in the same form, and there is no inclination toward any essential modification.

Of the original basic patterns, the following have been transferred for the decorative scars: the triangle with a diagonal drawn through it (called in this case esa[s]-mvăn, "half-pattern"), Figure 215, Drawing 9; the straight parallel lines (in this case called mekön, "guide rods"), Figure 215, Drawing 10, frequently simplified to a simple line, l; and the arc a (in this case called makŏs, "arcs").

[534]

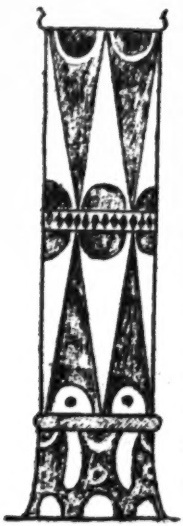

Fig. 214. Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebō Family), New Cameroons.

Of the homologous modified patterns there are the acute-angled triangle b (ndŭ-mbăn, "arrow leaf") and the circle c (in this case called atōk, "whirlpool"). Of the non-homologous modified patterns there is the triangle spear d (mbă[s]-akŏn). We are also familiar with the barbed spear e (ngam-akŏn), of which I have already said that it originated with decorative scars, in all probability from a /259/ /Fig. 215 appears here in the original text/ /260/ combination of the line (of the modified straight parallel line) with the figure of the arc set inside a triangle (see Figure 212, Drawing 3), the base of which is lacking.

1: Tessmann--291 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Fig. 215. Decorative Scars. /259/

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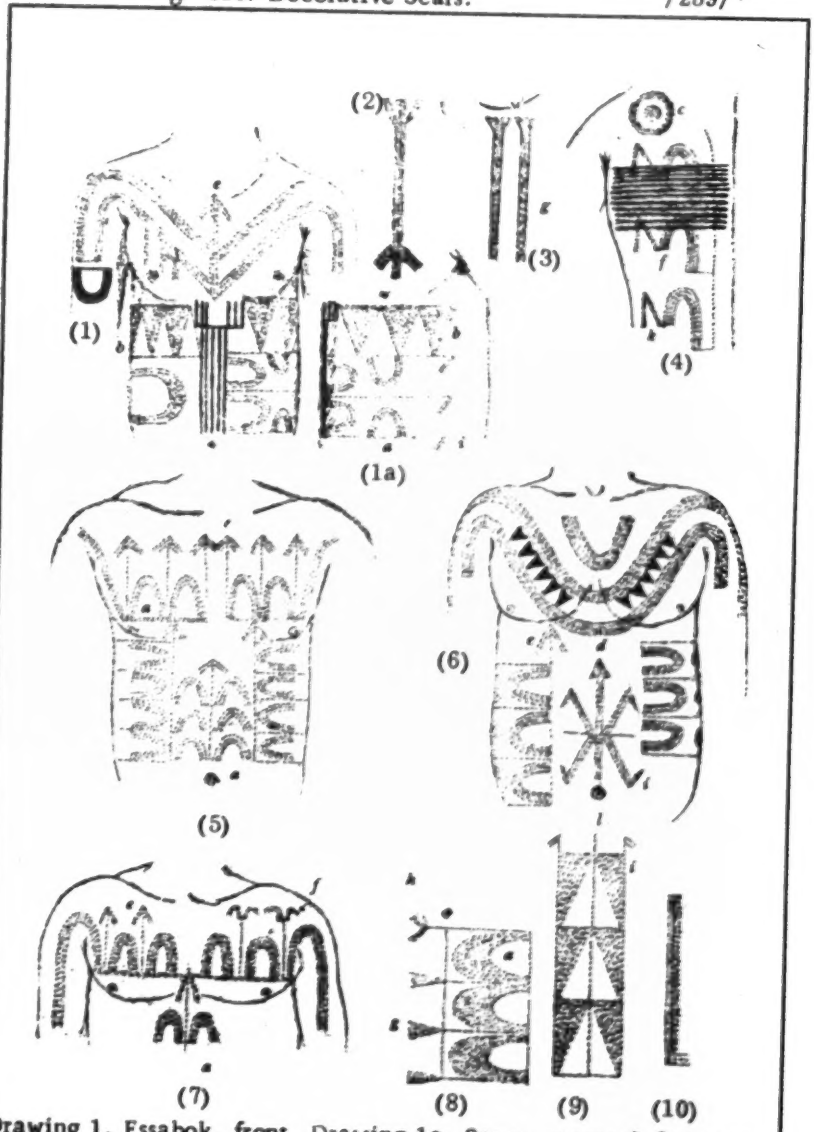

Drawing 1. Essabok, front. Drawing 1a. Same, stomach from the right side. Drawing 2. Jaunde, neck and back. Drawing 3. Essauong, below chest. Drawing 4. Schumu, left half of back. Drawing 5. Schumu, front. Drawing 6. Okŏng, front. Drawing 7. Okŏng, chest. Drawing 8. Schumu. Drawing 9. Esseng. Drawing 10. Jemandschim. -- Drawings 1, 4, and 6 are in part tattooed.

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The following are new:

among the homologous modified patterns, the incomplete arc f (eyū'da, "bending");

among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the blast pipe g = zǒ́ǹ (triangle with a line), the ray h = nsǎm (angle made by the barbed spear by omitting the handle, with a line attached at the top), and the hook i = kǫ̌b (half an angle with a line).

The five patterns -- sticks, blast pipe, hook, ray, and whirlpool -- have a close relationship, as their names show, to iron technology and to fire. The line was imagined to be the guide rod which during the setting up of the smelting furnace keeps the openings free for the blast pipes. In the triangle with line -- accidentally juxtaposed in a corresponding arrangement -- they thought they recognized the blast pipe. The same process is repeated with the hook (kǫ̌b), by which is meant the poker hook (okǫ̌b) used in iron smelting; and it is again repeated with the whirlpool (atǭk), which was observed when the hot metal was dipped in water to cool off: the water would bubble up (a tǭk, "to bubble") and hiss and flow outward in rings. Finally, this process took place with the ray (nsǎm), the most obvious manifestation of the life of fire as well as of the sun, which is represented as an arm, exactly as among the ancient Egyptians, because the arm is the symbol of the manifestation of life (see Fig. 215, Drawing 8 h, and also Adolf Erman, Die ägyptische Religion /Egyptian Religion/, image of the sun god, p. 78).

A pattern described to me as that of a tobacco pipe (myǒ-taa), a pattern which probably developed just like the blast pipe pattern from triangle and line, remained an isolated instance.

A pattern that was not explained to me was one representing an angle (k); it is connected with the triangle.

The decorative scar patterns seldom occur singly, say, in such a way that one adorns the upper arm, a second the chest, and the like. Instead, they usually occur in extensive combinations in which, however, the individual parts are always seen as independent units and keep their original name. Only twice did I encounter a special term for such a combination of patterns, but even this designation was not connected with the content of what

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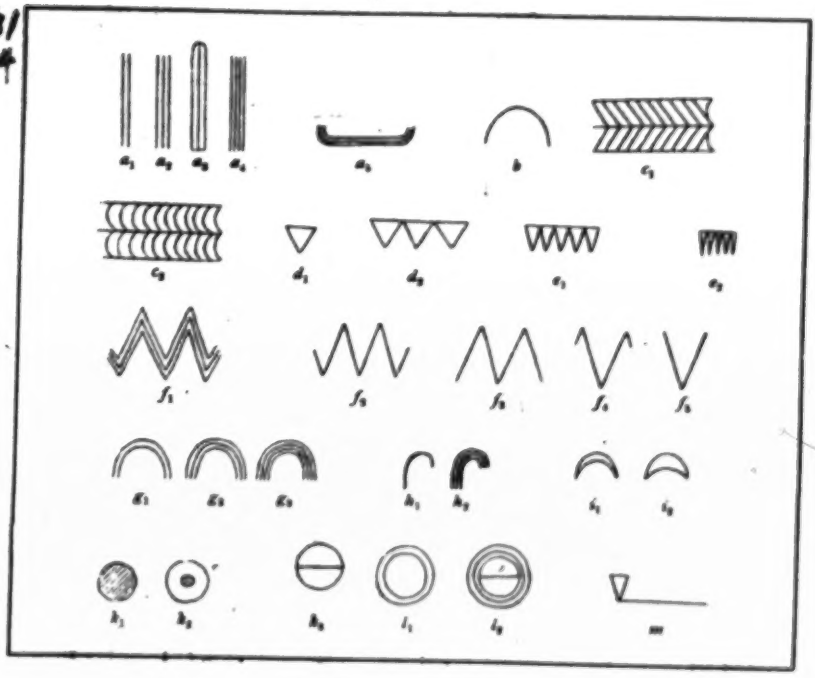

Fig. 216. Basic Patterns of Tattooing.

was represented, but with the place on the body to which the pattern was applied. One was called navel division (osa-dǫ̌b) (1)

1. a sa, "to split, to divide";
dǫ̌b, "navel."

and was applied above the navel (see Fig. 215, Drawing 6). It consisted of a cross-stick which had attached to it, at the top and the bottom, hooks, triangle spears, sticks, and arcs -- in former times it had evidently been located lower down around the navel in such a way that the cross-stick passed through the navel and /261/ /Fig. 216 appears here in the original text/ "divided it." The other combination (zǎ́ne abǎ́m) consisted mainly of half-patterns (diagonally divided rectangles) and bore its name only for the reason that it is preferred for the sheaths of swords and two-edged knives (Fig. 215, Drawing 9).

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304 The Fang consider the decorative scars an elegant adornment. Indeed, even considered with the eyes of a European, they may be called attractive and dignified, especially when they are arranged with such extraordinary regularity as is shown in Figure 215, Drawing 5.

(b) Tattooing.

The development of ornamentation advanced further in tattooing in that the basic patterns become rarer, whereas the modified patterns become more frequent and more diverse.

By way of basic patterns (Fig. 216) we again find the following: the diamond (here as a single diamond, bendŏ be bə̄, "diamond made with redwood," compare Fig. 218, c); the monitor lizard (nkaak); straight parallel lines (here likewise called melŏ́ń, "palm bands," or mekŏn, "sticks," /262/ /Fig. 217 appears here in the original text/ and also mekŏn akŏ́ń, "spear handles," or mekŏn e mvə́ń, "sticks of the decorative scars"), a; bows /Ed., or "arcs"/ (here called ekŭ̄luga-nkpwə̆́ə, "trap bow of the bird trap"), b; fishbone (okə̄́n e kə̆́s, "fishbone," here in part with a bow-shaped formation of the branches, c. Among the homologous modified patterns there are: the box pattern (ezima); the arrowleaf pattern (esŏgele ndu), d; the spike pattern (mesŏ́ń), e; basket-edge pattern (mebŏ̄ge me nkŭ̄n, "basket edges," or melŏ́ń, "palm /263/ bands"), with retrogressive metamorphosis to the angle, f; parallel bows (here likewise called ekŭ̄luga nkpwə̆́ə, "trap bows," or melŏ́ń, "palm bands," or bewŏ́ kì be nkŏ̄gə̄'), g; incomplete parallel bows (eyū́'da), h; half-moons (efangŏmendə́n, compare bark patterns), i; circle (here called ndzi̯ge ngŏmendə́n, "full moon"), k; and whirlpool (atə̄́k), l. Among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the barbed spear (ngam akŏ́ń) and pipe (mvŏ taa), m.

New patterns that appear are (Fig. 217) the following.

1) The bird tail in three varieties: the kite tail (ngə̄́b-obə̄́'mŏ), a, 1-3; the drongo tail (ngə̄́b obə̄́'mŏke) (1), b, 1 and 2; and the

1. Dircanurus coracinus Verr.

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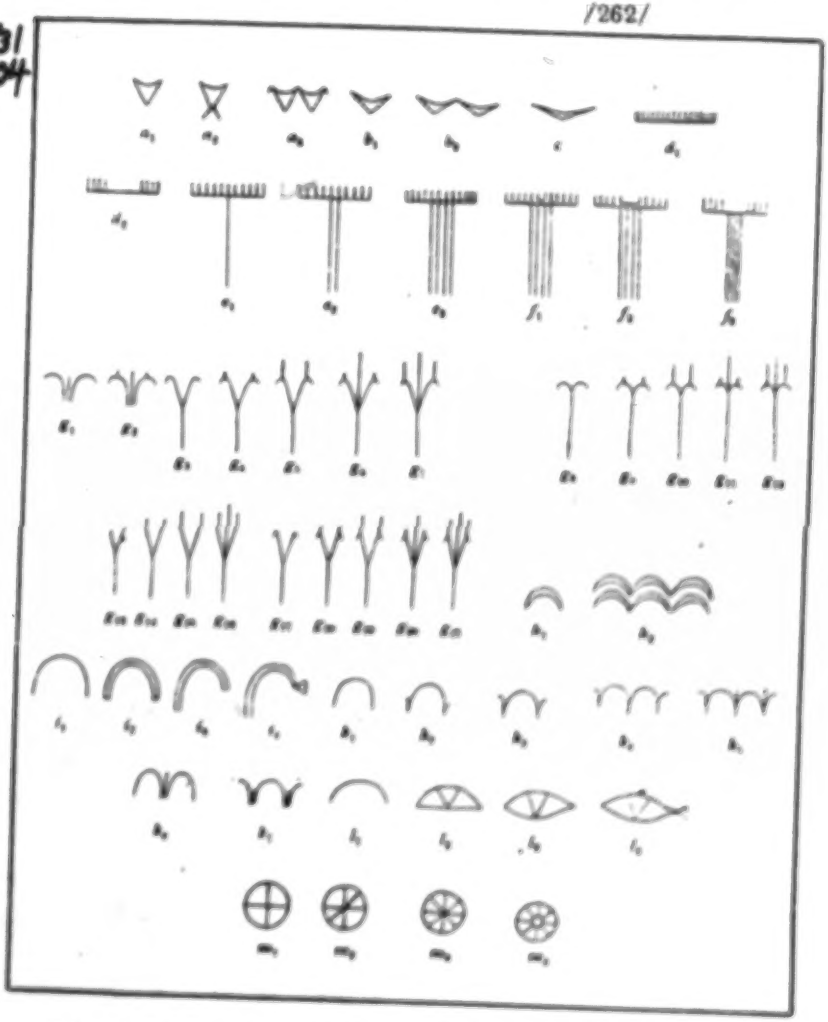

Fig. 217. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tatooing.

53/304 swallow tail (ebŏ'no e kŭlejɛ́'me) (2), c, which has arisen from

2. Psalidoprocne tessmannii Rchw.

the arc without a base set inside a triangle. We have already encountered this figure with the base as a composite pattern in connection with carving, and with the base omitted it is connected with a line as a barbed spear among the nonhomologous modified patterns of the decorative scars.

2) Tears of a beautiful woman (mīlĭge me mbŏ̄n), a single line or parallel lines with short strokes attached at right angles to one side, d. This pattern is preferably applied to the cheeks.

3) Fork (ebā.i), developed from the previous one by adding one or more sticks, e, 1-3.

4) Scorpion (kā'sɛ̄lɛ́ne), like the previous one, with a gap in the middle of the "row of tears," f, 1-3.

5) Monkey tail (ngɛ́'m avŏ'm) (3), consisting of a stick con-

3. avŏ'm = Cercopithecus laglaizei Pocock, white-nosed long-tailed monkey.

nected with an arc or angle, g, 1-21. This example in particular clearly shows how the Negro's eye seizes just the essential part of the animal, here the tail and hindparts, for, indeed, when the long-tailed monkeys are at rest one sees only their tails hanging from the branches. This fact supplies the clue to the following [524] riddle:

elŭ'ma gbwɛ́ e bɛ̆le ma matā'[k] m'oyŏ'n.
Yellow-bellied long-tailed monkey (4), it is sitting in the

4. elŭ'ma = Cercopithecus grayi Fraser.

branches of the Copaifera.
Answer: nkŏ-etŏb = rope (aerial roots) of the fig tree (Ficus).

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The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zŏ), Fang, or parrot claws (biȩ̄'ī, be kŭs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngūń, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enăm edžǒ) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs

1. edžǒ – Rana zenkeri Ndn.

with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (myă), developed from arc and triangle, as row l, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abŭb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkŏn) consists of an arc with two triangles attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, [177] and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

The knife (okŏń) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kŏ[s] a măń) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

531 304 It seems significant that these three last designs deal with objects that are foreign to the land or to the culture of the Pangwe. Indeed, I believe that, besides the play on familiar patterns, the conscious intention of capturing a remembered image is added here. In other words, we have, as it were, a transition from conventional patterns to purely free hand drawing.

A similar process perhaps underlies the "chameleon" (dz̆ĭngbwɔ̆'), which I saw twice. In the first case, it was quite obvious that it had arisen from the rectangle attached to a half-moon; because the arch of the half-moon was on the wrong side (Fig. 218, d). In the second case, the animal had been captured in good realistic detail as regards its body and head (Fig. 218, e).

The composite patterns, which -- as I have mentioned -- are extraordinarily frequent in tattooing, are so diverse that they cannot all be mentioned here. We frequently find the half-moon combined with a line and tears, triangles and sticks, and so forth (Fig. 220). /265 and 266/ /Figs. 218 and 219 appear here in the original text./ /267/ /Fig. 220 appears here in the original text./

(c) Decoration of raffia stalks, etc.

531 I myself have not seen the technique of decorating raffia stalks, since I did not succeed in meeting anyone who was a master at it. It is supposed to be carried out with a tool which, by drilling or scraping, takes off the upper layer of the raffia bark.

In this branch of ornamentation, we again encounter types of all the patterns developed in the various crafts and specialized arts (Fig. 221). The following occur.

Among basic patterns: rectangle (engraving pattern); single diamond (smearing of the body); monitor lizard (bark pattern), Drawing 5; isosceles triangles, in this case not quite completed (bark or carving patterns); parallel lines; straight or wavy (bark patterns); arc (bark, carving, or tattooing pattern).

Among homologous modified patterns: box (carving pattern); arrow leaf (carving or tattooing pattern); scaly anteater tail, in this case not completed (carving pattern); spearhead (bark

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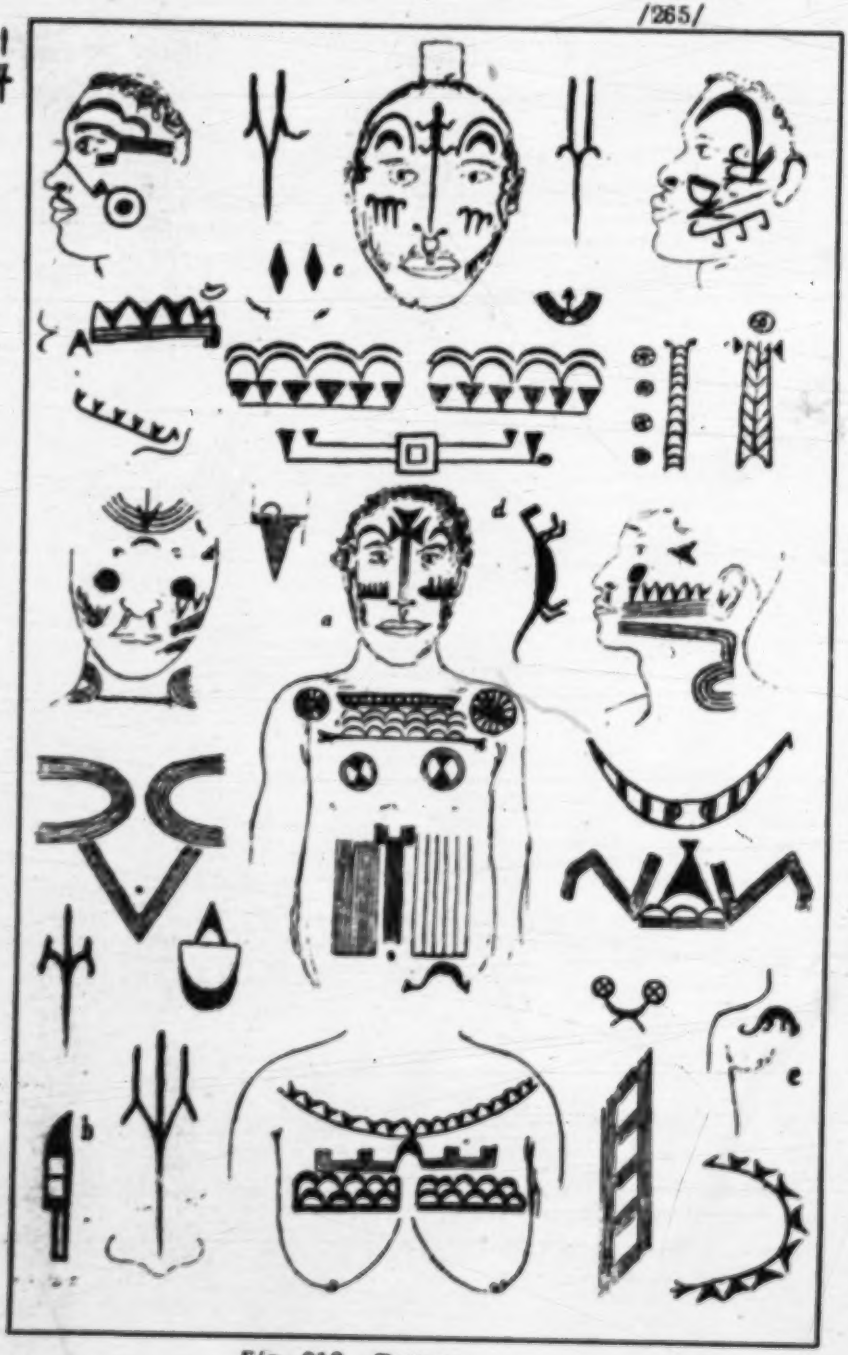

Fig. 218. Tattoos.

1: Tessmann--300 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
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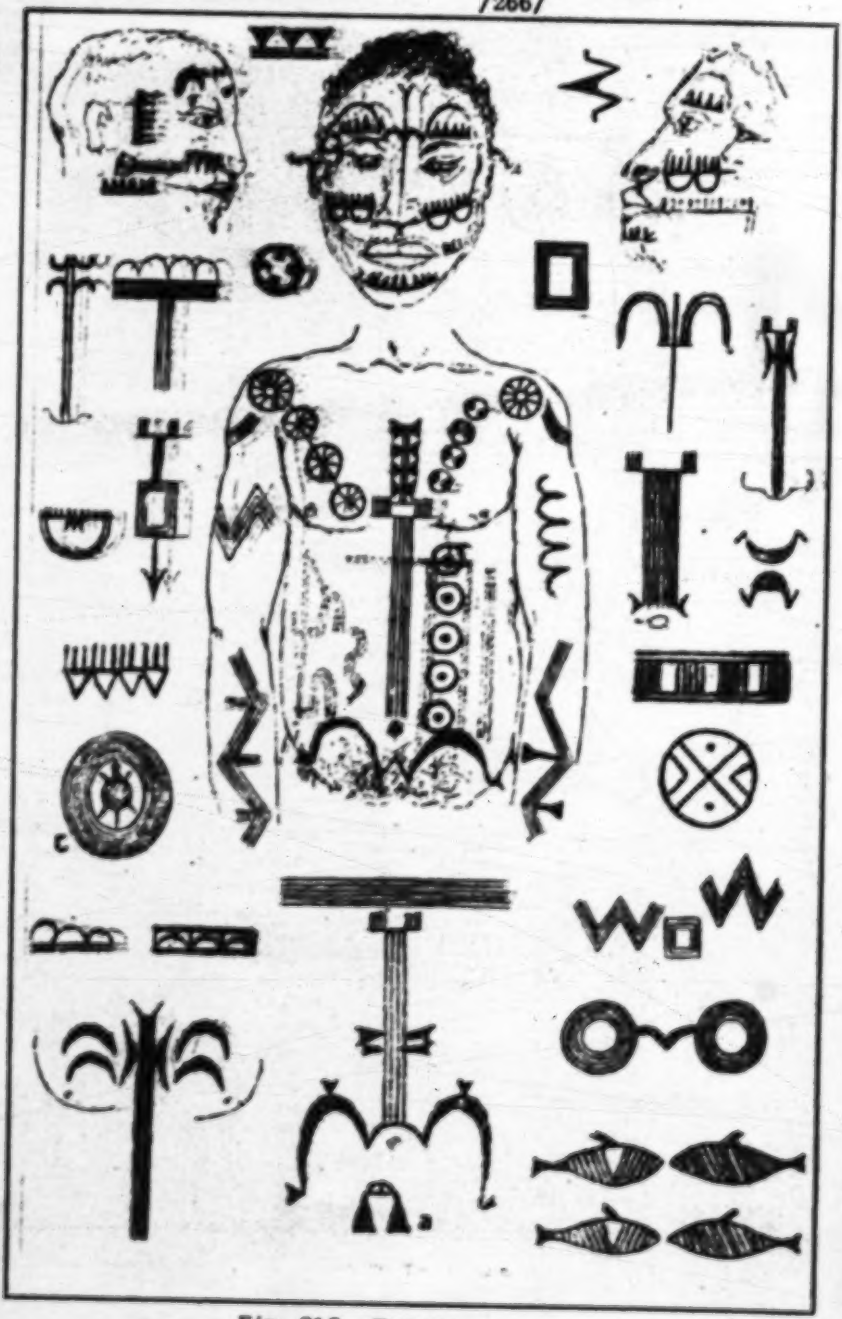

Fig. 219. Tattoos.

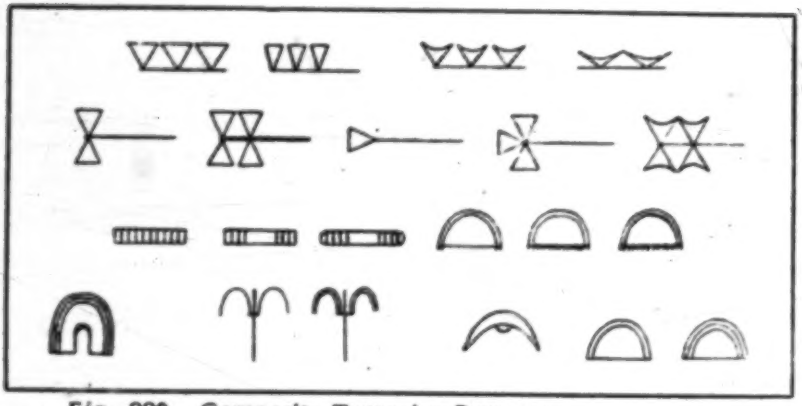

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Fig. 220. Composite Tattooing Patterns.

or carving pattern), moon (tattooing pattern); parallel arcs (tattooing pattern). 531

Among nonhomologous modified patterns: kite tail (tattooing pattern); barbed spear (decorative scars or tattooing pattern); sun (painting); chameleon (bark or tattooing patterns), Drawing 4 b, Drawing 2a.

Among composite patterns: two lines with triangles (tattooing pattern); tears and arc (tattooing pattern); double barbed spear (tattooing pattern); line with two arcs (decorative scar pattern); three-fold parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

New patterns that appear are: a composite of squares into which a bow is set on opposite sides, Drawing 2 a (single square with bows; carving or engraving pattern); a figure eight with circles (bands) drawn inside it, Drawing 4 a. Furthermore, there are a number of figures which were probably taken over from painting, /268/ /Fig. 221 appears here in the original text / /269/ namely, a man (quadrangle, lines, an arc), Drawing b; a fish (triangles, lines), Drawing 2a, c; a rifle (triangles, lines), Drawing 3 a; a monkey (moon, circle, hook, line), Drawing 3 b; a cat (bow, circle, lines), Drawing 2a, d.

4. Engraving patterns.

Neck rings, foot covers (more rarely, foot and finger rings), sword blades, and battle axes are decorated with engraved patterns.

Among the neck rings only the three-edged ones are decorated and then in the middle of the front surfaces in three square or

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saga e saga sag mi sag nkŭli," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [362] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [826] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly 681 done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done underwent the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality, however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

Marriage (alu̱g̱). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also prohibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the prohibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

769 number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the
794 women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position – justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bièri" – to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating
[276] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bièri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bièri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bièri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'è bòt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult,
● [304 177] like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

561 [843] no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words considered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

[862] After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised 561 boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

881 Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age [304] (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

561 After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and 882 twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a [884] nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

561 A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by [885] losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually [888] around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com- 567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any 727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304] 1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti 565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The 769 ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his per- 538 sonal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry 759 out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

304 Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

825 horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergures/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion [144] of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [145] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndôñ ayoñ of [147 824] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

834 uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women
292 cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

[177]

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ôbôm or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

291 Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afañ /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circum-
● [304] cision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

304 Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

302 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard [765] was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been attributed to this fashion--but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair. in plaits, checker [765] board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145 754] follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

515 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

181 Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 854 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and [582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It [87] is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with [574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, ● 304 at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision 864 among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengañ, diviner-healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, mintôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relationships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the ngengañ performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

> 1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôsôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

After circumcision the ndôman was able to have sexual relations and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

88 The nkpwé sô then defecated into the pot, which was buried in a secret spot near the sanctuary. The bevôn then took part in a mock battle at the end of which the nkpwé sô gave goats to their families. The initiated now went into the forest to cut a njôm pole, chosen, according to Allégret, by a woman whose husband had no luck at hunting—this pole was placed across two forks planted in front of the sanctuary near the nkal sô. Meanwhile, the bevôn had been cutting raffia "bamboo" to be used in making the ésam sô, an enclosure around the njôm. They returned in Indian file with their group "major" (ôsu zua) at the head; they set up the "bamboos" in a triangle open toward the back of the njôm, fastening them together with plaited raffia leaves the end of which an initiate buried in the nlak sô. During their marching by, which women and unitiated are not allowed to see, they were beaten with sticks by the initiates.

They then proceeded to a "crabbing" which consisted of immersion in water flavored with pimento. /This was/ the commencement of the third stage, which was continued by withdrawal into the forest, where the bevôn painted themselves white and engaged in a ritual hunt.

Meanwhile, initiates closed the ésam sô with two lianas representing a python (mvôm) and a Dendraspis (ayañ). The bevôn then were subjected to the ant-tree test in which they had to climb an angakomo tree on which weaver-ants lived whose bite is very painful. They then spent a night in the ésam sô, lying on thorns and rubbed with pimento juice, while masked initiates beat them and blew trumpets
[574] to keep them from going to sleep. The next day they went off on a round of visits through villages related or allied to their own, while the mfek sô and initiates carved and shaped the njôm in keeping with clan traditions. The designs had to be explained to the bevôn during the next stage, abete njôm, the erection, the setting up of the njôm.

● [304] Upon their return from the round of visits, the bevôn were tattooed by the mfek sô: three rows of incisions along the spine, the two outer ones spreading apart at the top like the sô's "halter, " and a small triangular mark at the nape, perhaps the same as that of the ndôngô. They then put on a sort of skirt of raffia fiber, painted themselves white once more, and did a public dance during which the "major" mounted astride the njôm, the other bevôn after him. Anyone who fell off was rejected by the sô and had to leave the

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of
524 tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the piece-
787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in
884 the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan,
304 each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abɔ̂p, the spider,
825 artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

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"There would seem to be nothing further except to pay the initiator and to carry away the treasure so dearly and criminally bought. But there is still a final ceremony. Initiator and initiate both are actors and witnesses in a strange scene which I should not describe were it not as authentic as it is apparently unbelievable. The new initiate's life is to be united through a bloody rite to that of an animal, who will thereafter be his personal animal, not a domestic or tame animal, but a wild beast living in the depths of the forest or the bed of a river. The initiator has made the necessary arrangements; he gives a signal: [487] at first no sound is heard in reply but soon in the bright moonlight an unknown participant is seen approaching the spot in the forest where it is awaited -- sometimes an enormous mass with a monstrous head, sometimes a feline form that crawls rather than walks, sometimes a long body that unwinds and undulates. Whatever the animal -- hippopotamus, panther, or snake -- it forgets the timidity or ferocity felt in the presence of man and submits docilely to the desired operation. Then the exchange of blood takes place. How this is done is not our concern. But what is beyond any doubt is the fact that blood is let, of the animal and of the initiate, and that each is inoculated with the other's blood. The animal's ear is slit (a corresponding cut is made upon a snake) as a mark
● [304] of the link established with the man, in whose arm an incision is made so that he in turn is marked with the sign of the beast. (1)

1. [The footnote, referring to mediaeval witchcraft practices, is omitted. --Translator]

A real link henceforth exists between them. The animal will be at the beck and call of the person who has been made his master. I could name ... a certain Black man who at night receives a vulture or a panther with slit ear, and another who allows into his hut and even his bed (ikoko) a python that recognizes his authority. When day comes, and the tasks have been

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762 legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps,
535 a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

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801 The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young
535 candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in gar-
●304 ments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

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536 The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

[515] 3. General Totemic Rites: Details

719 In order to establish some logical order for totemic rites, we may take a man at his coming into the world, follow him through his principal activities, and leave him only at death. In this way we shall include the complete series of general or particular rites which he must observe. However, we shall obviously have to discuss them from the totemic point of view only.

By general rites I mean those concerned with the race or tribe. Among particular rites, on the other hand, I place all those concerned more specifically with the individual.

General rites are as follows:

1. Circumcision, akèle
2. Initiation, evɔ̀m
3. Consecration of a chief, elɔ̀ga
4. War, abal
5. Hunting or fishing expeditions, miyɛ̀n
6. Establishment in new territory, edzal mfifi
7. Ordeals, elun, ɛ̀nu mélan
8. Covenants or blood exchange, abvuna

Particular rites to be noted are:

1. Birth and name giving, abiɛ̀nɛ́, edzɔ̀
2. Adoption, ɛ̀nɔ̀n mɔ̀bɛ̀
3. Marriage, alùk
4. Hunting, fishing, farming, mvɛ̀bɛ, ayɔ̀ kos, bifaɛ̀
5. Trade, okira
6. Death, awu

The totemic character is sometimes strongly marked in these rites, sometimes it is almost obscured, barely perceptible. At times that character is underlined merely by a gesture, a call, a prayer. But it is never absent. [516]

I. Circumcision

881 304 Circumcision cannot be considered a universal rite among Bantu tribes: some practice it, some do not, either because they have never done so or because the custom has been lost in the course of centuries and repeated migrations.

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304 The Fan and all the tribes of their group have preserved it. In all clans, at a time decided upon by the chief, youths must be circumcised. This rule is also accepted by all the related tribes, Dzèm and Dzandzama, Bulu, Shéké, Batéké, etc.

During my many journeys I hever met a single Fan who had [582] not been circumcised. No young girl would agree to marrying an uncircumcised man, under any conditions. This by the way indi- [588] cates the value, even in terms of Fan custom, of the temporary marriages contracted with Europeans. The Fan look upon these unions simply as concubinage and designate them by the same word, évex̌.

Although the Fan group has kept circumcision, others have not, so that it cannot be said to now be a general rite among the Bantu. The custom is not the result of Semitic infiltration; some Bantu tribes like the Kavirondo, among whom the Arabs have penetrated, do not practice it, while the Fan, who have never been in contact with Moslems, do so.

a) Is circumcision a religious rite?

We shall take up the subject [circumcision] first from the general, then from the particular, point of view.

The first question to be raised is: Is circumcision a religious rite by nature and origin, consecrating a person to a deity, as by a sort of sacrament? (1)

1. Cf. Lagrange, Études sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], p. 242.

According to certain writers, Renan in particular, circumcision is a purely hygienic custom: "In the beginning," he says, "this custom had neither the widespread character nor the religious significance that was given it later. Without the operation, certain Oriental peoples would be condemned to semi-impotence and dangerous impurities."

Arcin also wrote: "Circumcision is the most important religious ceremony of the black peoples. This practice has probably been made necessary by a special physiological

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structure. (2) But at present any memory of this cause has been

2. From the medical point of view, this statement is a complete invention.

entirely effaced and these rites are seen only as an offering to fertility gods."

Let me say right here that, as regards the Fan and the Bantu tribes, this physiological rationalization appears of slight value. In fact, though the Fan and other tribes of their group have adopted circumcision, this is far from being the case among all Bantu, certain of whom, like some in Uganda, have even a horror of it. Yet physiological requirements are identical among tribes of the same race and habitat.

We do not have to discuss here the natural advantages of circumcision. Were they even more considerable, it would be wrong to give a rationalistic explanation derived from hygiene, without taking into account the sum of institutions of which it is a part and of which it represents the moderate component, a very temperate practice compared with others. These institutions are the consecration rites of youths at puberty, and it is precisely because circumcision had a hygienic and moderating quality that it spread so widely and prevailed over other, more barbarous, practices. Circumcision has in fact [518] been practiced throughout the whole world among the greatest variety of populations and races, mostly as part of the initiation ceremonies that link a youth more closely with his tribe and his god or gods.

I agree with the majority of writers that this is an operation that is essentially religious in origin, necessary from the hygienic point of view, (1) but never for physiological reasons.

1. From the purely hygienic point of view: "It is impossible to give a raison d'être for circumcision, except as a religious requirement. It is in no way indicated anatomically (in spite of what Niebuhr, Description

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de l'Arabie [Description of Arabia] and Winer say); and from the point of view of sexual activity, it has no effect upon a man's potency; hygienically, circumcision is insufficiently effective." Colonial Despatch, Medical Report, Sept. 3, 1907.

I should also say, with Father Lagrange -- adding to circumcision the tribal mutilations to be discussed, such as the knocking-out or filing of teeth, scarifications, etc. -- "the religious character of these ceremonies cannot any longer be disputed."

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b) Is circumcision a totemic rite?

Granted that circumcision is a religious rite, is it also a totemic one?

According to Frazer, (1) circumcision is part of the initiation rites

1. Totemism, p. 47

tion rites that link a youth with his tribe and his god; these initiations have a specific character, that of uniting the young man and the animal life of the totem through an exchange of souls. (2)

2. In Australia the neophyte is anointed with blood drawn from a warrior's arm or may even drink some of it. A few magical passes are added, which convey to the candidate the corresponding spiritual powers and gifts. He must sleep on the tombs of his ancestors so as to absorb their virtues. Sometimes he is reputedly killed by a certain Thurembul, who returns him to life, and removes one of his teeth. In this, says Frazer, there may have been an idea of

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rebirth, or of the neophyte's starting a second life; that is why he acquires a new name as soon as he is circumcised, or when the tooth is removed or when he sheds the blood of his family.

I am quite ready to admit with Father Lagrange that circumcision is not restricted to totemic tribes. Among fully totemic tribes, like the Baganda, it is not only not permitted but is even viewed with disgust. [519] I look upon it as basically a religious rite, derived from ancestor worship, and what Frazer says confirms me in this opinion. Nevertheless, I freely admit and even believe that alongside these rites connecting circumcision with ancestor worship there are others, which, coming from the same source, also connect circumcision with the totemic cult; for in many religious phenomena the mvamayôn cult and that of the esayôn are closely and inseparably related.

In outlining below the practice of circumcision among the Fan, we shall point to the rites that derive from the mvame. Our reply to the initial question will then be:

Circumcision among the Fan is certainly a religious rite; it is not a purely totemic phenomenon, but the totem enters into it.

Bros agrees with these conclusions, at least in part. In his opinion, circumcision is a test of puberty, a first-fruits offering to the gods, a purification made to release an evil spirit which vanishes with the blood; above all, it is a pact by which a part of one's blood is given to the tribal god (1) and

1. In my opinion, the term "tribal god" ought not to be used; the Bantu tribes recognise only a single Creator, under different names, and not a god for each tribe.

881 one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe.
•304 Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which
779 the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

821 Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are
304 less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things
779 that illustrates very well the close connection between circum-
778 cision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that
[844] pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth,or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the
[287 inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree,
322] which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart."

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c) The Circumcision Itself

The Fan use the term akéla for circumcision, at least as regards boys. The root of the word is clearly in the verb ekèl, of which the radical element expresses the idea of "cutting" and "removing." For girls the word atsingéla is used, which denotes at once ligature, extension, and excision.

We shall examine:

1) The phenomenon itself
2) The age of the candidate
3) The operation
4) The participants -- patient and operator
5) The instrument

1) The phenomenon itself

Circumcision is universal throughout the Fan nation and no male is exempt. Besides, he would be disgraced, and he would not be able to enter into marriage without having first had this operation. Even children brought up in missions do not escape; as soon as they go back to their villages, [521] they submit with good grace if they have remained uncircumcised.

If old people are questioned about the "why" of the ceremony, it is hard to get an answer from them, and they nearly always fall back on custom, "We've always done it," or propriety, 'It's better that way." Both answers, especially the second, are of real value. Yet one day I got a much more interesting reply from a chief in the interior, who told me, "It marks the beginning." And when I insisted on further explanation, he replied, "It is the mark that sanctifies manhood; afterwards one is no longer an animal, one is 'sacred.'" ("E ne ndem ɔ̀ŋ, ndem a ho fam: ai vale, tsit é séra, mur a ne éki," lit., "It is the mark of the first beginning, the mark which sanctifies virility; after the operation, the animal has disappeared, and there is a man, and he is sacred.") As the chief did not want to say anything more, he fell back upon the rules of secrecy. It was difficult, if not impossible, in the tribe with which I then was, to attribute a Christian or Moslem origin to this reply; the chief has never heard of either of them. It would be much simpler to

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.

● 304 779 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious, never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

[521] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterward a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in 881 304 779 782 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn vow to his akaméyôn that his son will not be circumcised until he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

881 304 779 782 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Circumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 304 779 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost invariably in the eight days before a full moon.

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

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does not usually last longer than eight days, a lunar quarter. Every evening songs and dances are performed in honor of the moon, which is looked upon as a source of fertility. (2) In Fan,

> 2. The same belief exists in almost all African tribes; just as in Egypt, the moon presides over rain, which is the earth's source of fertility and thus of human fertility.

the same word, ngon, denotes "girl" and "moon," an ambiguity to be found nearly everywhere among African tribes, in varying degrees. These songs and dances are very special and repetition [533] of them is strictly prohibited outside the sacred enclosure. (3)

> 3. All I could discover on the subject from my young Christian converts who had already gone through the ceremony was that these songs were "bad" and had as their purpose procreation. There is no doubt that the Fan say things "crudely" in their songs. That is all I can say.

According to Lang, (4) this is the time when a youth is

> 4. The Making of Religion, Art.: "Circumcision."

taught about the existence of a beneficent god, a defender of morals, who condemns egoism and adultery. This is so among the Fan. In fact, it is during their retreat the chief teaches the children the mébara, or wisdom of the ancestors, and narrates the great deeds of the race. This is as much as we have been able to learn, for the rule of secrecy is scrupulously observed. During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôñ (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôñ denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôñ has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
824 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôñ and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekelokêñ.

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The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvè.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nôde n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head [778] of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayôn and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed [illegible] during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers [434] the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of [782] the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the 778] sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

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apart, and everyone then avoids letting them be seen. [526] The rest of the sheep is eaten by the children the next day.

They remain in seclusion for a few more days. At the end there is another ceremony, also accompanied by dances and songs. They show the reassembled heads of families that the operation has been successful. They then remove the circumcision belt, put back the ordinary loincloth, and return to the village, where they are feted.

d) The consequences of circumcision

"Everything that has to do with procreation," writes Father Lagrange (1) of these ceremonies (and I quite agree with his

1. Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 244 ff.

conclusions), "is eminently taboo, surrounded with restrictions and precautions imbued with a religious character and sanctioned by strict laws. Through circumcision a person is really affianced by blood. This may perhaps have been one condition which entitled the begotten child to become in turn a member of the both national and religious association, the community." (We have just seen that this is definitely so among the Fan, for an uncircumcised boy would neither be admitted to the first initiation tests for warriors nor be able to marry: both tribe and future wife would be opposed to it.) "Every time blood is shed, one might wonder whether it is in order to make use of its intrinsic power, in the sense of magic, or for expiation, or to link one person to another by exchange of blood and vitality. Here it would seem to be a question of union, since the rite is initiatory: life is to be transmitted by an organ linked to god through blood letting; at the same time, it represents the ending of a very sensible taboo, which saves the youth from premature indulgence, comparable to that which protects growing fruits and cereals and which ends with the first-fruits sacrifice."

Mgr. Le Roy (1) differs somewhat from Father Lagrange

1. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], pp. 235 ff.

on the subject of circumcision: "Circumcision, in our view, is connected with the institution of the taboo; it was originally the lifting of a prohibition. Before having gone through this ceremony, a young man cannot marry; he is not acceptable [527] to any woman and he has no right to nuptial relations. And if these should nevertheless, occur -- and they do! -- the child of this forbidden intercourse is accounted 'bad' and must disappear."

Among the Fan such a child, without being considered exactly "bad," is thought of as not belonging to the tribe. Since the father has not the right to be a father, he cannot give the child a name; and if the child escapes the first vicissitudes of babyhood, it will soon die of neglect and hunger, scorned by all. This is especially the case with mulattoes, whose birth in itself places them outside the tribe. They are found on the coast and near European settlements, where, along with the decline in moral standards, the family has to a great extent disappeared, with the laws that used to guarantee its integrity and corresponding moral code. In the interior, in spite of the passage of numerous traders and explorers whose morals are no better than those of the coast, mulattoes are very rare, to say the least. We have just given the reason for this.

"Here," continues Mgr. Le Roy, "we have a typical and interesting illustration of the principle set forth above. The transmission of human life takes place in a mysterious realm where the activity of the Lord of Creation is manifest, or at least taken for granted, and to which man cannot be admitted [illegible] of an appropriate ceremony. At the indicated time the prohibition may be removed, but as always in such cases the 'use permit' must be bought back by a blood sacrifice, hence circumcision, the moral purpose of which is obvious, because the taboo or prohibition that it ends is a rigorous obstacle to sexual relations between children who have not reached puberty.

"This institution can be found everywhere; to be so widespread it must have a widely applicable raison d'être; this is

none other than the sacred prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare, which is lifted, when necessary, in the same interests."

Circumcision for Mgr. Le Roy is, therefore, in short, only "the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare." [528]

Although this explanation is neat and seems to satisfy all requirements, it still does not appear to me altogether correct. It takes the effect for the cause. Undoubtedly, a lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare does follow circumcision, but the lifting, and the prohibition itself, seems to me very much an effect, a consequence, not the cause, and I believe that the objective is above all the sacrifice, admittedly a sacrifice for the welfare of the race. As Father Lagrange points out, "this system" (initiations, tests, and especially circumcision) "implies a close religious relationship within a social group at a low stage of development. It would seem to be a matter of religious unity. In the great Assyro-Babylonian civilization, there is no evidence of circumcision, but then, as now, among widely scattered peoples, some had adopted it, some had not." Is it then enough to say, as for the Bantu tribes, that those who no longer have it have either abandoned it or never possessed it? If in fact all Bantu tribes come from a single stock, as we believe, all have been familiar with circumcision, and we are dealing with a much more ancient rite.

We have already mentioned the Egyptian infiltration into Fan manners and customs and the influence of their beliefs. Therefore circumcision might go back to them. Herodotus had already pointed out that circumcision came from Egypt and had, by way of Egypt, spread throughout the Mediterranean world (Her. II, 104). "It may well be," writes Father Lagrange on this subject, "that circumcision among Egyptians was not exactly borrowed from an ethical system, but was a tradition from their origins, going back to the time when they started coming down the Nile Valley, according to contemporary opinion.

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We also find the tradition among the Arabs as far back in their history as we can go."

Therefore -- and Johnston is of the same opinion -- circumcision is not a rite devised to meet specific needs but one that dates back to the origins of the human race. From the beginning, man has offered first fruits to God. From this to offering the first fruits of human beings and of life, the step was inevitable, and it was quickly made. [529]

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In the Fan group at least, circumcision is thus based upon the idea of sacrifice itself and not, as Mgr. Le Roy says, upon the simple lifting of a prohibition that is very useful and very moral. It is based not only on the idea of sacrifice itself but on that of an offering by desecration, which is the very foundation of sacrifice. "Especially at the first use of things it is important to give the gods their share," to renew the covenant with the Master of life. From the beginning, man presented the "first fruits" of things to the deity, above all in order to truly acknowledge his realm. Is not man's life that which is most precious? And the basis of life is certainly the procreative act. Furthermore, the basic concept of clan and tribe is based on the family, so that again from that point of view, procreation is the most important act of life. It is the first fruits of the generative process that will be offered to the Lord of the clan and to the ancestors, deified or not, but supposedly standing by. Therefore this will be a religious act, carried out by the practitioner with the help of the tribal chief and the head of the family, that is, the three clan authorities. So that the ceremony may be more solemn, the remains of the ancestors and of the eponymous animal will be included; finally, as in every sacrifice, blood will be shed. These terms make the sacrifice totemic.

But so that the first fruits may be pure and the shed blood acceptable and effective, they must be truly first fruits. It is therefore very important that they be preserved as such; the means is simple and effective and consists of the éki, that is, the prohibition of certain foods and especially of sexual relations before the set time. The law is not even concerned with the

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"fruit" that might result from transgressing the prohibition. The fault, nsem, must be expiated ritually as a fault, but the law would not consider the child as "bad" or guilty; the law does not take it into account at all, but ignores it: the child is "outside the law," res nullius, and is not killed but left to die. It is therefore important that they be really first fruits. Then, too, when the appointed time comes, when a Fan begins to feel himself ready to procreate in his turn, when he can take his place along with the young warriors, the sacrifice will be performed with all formality; once this has been accomplished, [530] but only then, will the prohibition be lifted. The sacrifice ought to be not only carried out but accepted too, because if, for one reason or another -- and this happens -- after circumcision has been performed according to the rules, the practitioner still considers that the spirits of the real or totemic ancestors are not satisfied, an additional sacrifice will be necessary in order to make the first acceptable.

Thus it is clear in what ways our notion of circumcision differs considerably from that of Mgr. Le Roy. In his opinion, it consists of the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare a "use permit," that must be bought back by a sacrifice; in our opinion, in agreement with Father Lagrange's, the lifting of the prohibition is not the cause but a natural consequence. The prohibition's objective is circumcision, the "use permit" is the inevitable result, not the cause, of the sacrifice, and circumcision (1) is the very sacrifice of the

1. Lagrange, Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], "Le Sacrifice" [Sacrifice"], pp. 255 ff.

procreative first fruits, the most important act from the point of view of clan unity and the perpetuation of the family.

II. Initiation

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The second totemic rite that we come upon in the life of a Fan youth is his initiation.

597 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men
727 and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this
does not apply to women and children, even to male children,
who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked
upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female
[562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them,
and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as
quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and
never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would
be an offense requiring expiation.

597 Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family.
Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the
warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a
chief, however, may never succeed him.

597 Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted
child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the
● 304 tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-
letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he
undergoes the following operation when led before the totem.
With the mfor knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose,
the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's
left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the
ancestral skulls, then on the akaméybn. He then takes a frag-
ment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these
vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption,
by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is
recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even
be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the
strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[548 Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur
563] with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is
then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much
later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.
The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.[1] The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Australoid or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The alæ nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Australoid or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Australoid type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways."

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it *is mbeng* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular, the "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip.

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, far more so than in the Mpongwe, Mabeya and many other West African tribes. The Mpongwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows:

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27½ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32½ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8½ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual apparatus is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the

[1] It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bulu and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn by the young men while the *bomo* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag. Very often the *bomo* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade, and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "mouth cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made. Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a close-fitting skull-cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the heads of very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. White

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F919 Fang F919

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a headman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; more infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Both portions of the redwood tree are pulverized and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a *red band* is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, hands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The *Ngi* or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *nkuma* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *nkuma* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Circumcision is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy the *okeng* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *okeng* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

533 Response by the audience: *Nangekobe.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

539 (2) *Akóm ke yeye nzam.* Let not the *akóm* sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (*akóm*) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (*akóm*).

Response: *Ziaxia, akóm ke yeye nzam.* The word *ziaxia*, like *nangekobe*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *Ke bele me nsok nem ne mabata.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with *mabata*, *i.e.*, because you have the sickness *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina).

Response: *Ziaxia*; *ke bele me nsok nem ne mabata.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

732 143 During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinoes (shown on lantern slide). The natives say of these albinoes: "They are white, but *not real* white people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *biang-akamayeng* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-anen (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphrodism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *ngungun* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

● 304 A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbang* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbang*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

539 *Ma kôm wum alem*, I think in my heart.

Me ku, I am gone, said in taking leave.